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dible extent; and this desirable result would follow without at all encroaching on the domain of purely speculative, metaphysical, theological, or abstract inquiries."

The following papers were then submitted to the Meeting.

"OF THE TAKEING AWAY OF A GENTLEWOMAN, THE YOUNGEST DAUGHTER OF SIR NICHOLAS BAGENALL, LATE MARSHALL OF HER MAJESTY'S ARMIE, BY THE EARL OF TIROWEN;" AS REVEALED BY THE DOCUMENTS PRESERVED IN HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE.

BY DANIEL MAC CARTHY, ESQ.

AT a recent Meeting of the Society there was read a paper comprising all such documents as exist in the State Paper Office relative to the signal defeat sustained by the English forces under Sir Henry Bagnal at the Blackwater. It was then mentioned that "O'Neill had married the Marshal's sister, and that out of that marriage had arisen a deadly hatred between them." It cannot fail to have occurred to the reader of those documents, that there must have been something remarkable and unusual in that marriage to account for such feelings. The reader may have known that between Sir Nicholas Bagnal, the father of Sir Henry, and O'Neill there had existed at least neighbourly and peaceful intercourse, and some curiosity may have been excited to learn what there could have been in this marriage to cause so unforgiving a resentment in the mind of the lady's brother. The feud between these two men led to an issue so tragical, and placed the Government of Ireland in a position so critical, that it acquires far more than a mere personal interest, and is rendered a subject worthy of historical inquiry. Relative to this episode to the story of the great combat with which it is connected, there fortunately exist all the documents necessary for its elucidation,—letters written at the time by the parties immediately concerned in it, and by the authorities of Ireland, who thought it their duty to report all the details of it to the English Government. These papers are now presented to the reader as an Appendix not inappropriate to the documents already printed concerning the "Journey of the Blackwater." We are familiar with Tyrone as the "wicked rebel," the "arch traitor," and under many similar names; there will be novelty, at least, in becoming acquainted with him as the ardent lover, and the hero of an elopement.

“21 Aug^r 1591. L. DEF. AND COUNSAILE to the LLs of the P. C.

“It maie please yo^r good LLs amongst other occurrents in this kingdome wee have thought good to send unto yo^r LLs a true report of a late accident w^h hathe happened in these parts, Of the takeing awaie of a *gentlewoman, the youngest daughter of S^r Nich^{as} Bagenall Late m^shall of her Ma^{ty}: armie*, and sister to the nowe m^shall, of the age of twentie yeres or thereabouts by the Erle of Tirowen, the manner whereof was this w^h followeth. Since the deathe of the *Erles late wife w^h was ODonells daughter he hathe borne a wondrefull affection to the gentlewoman whome he nowe enioyeth, and moste earnestlie hathe sollicitied by his self* and his freends S^r Henry Bagenall to yeld his consent to a mariage betweene them, w^h from time to time, being earnestly intreated and delt w^hall by all psuasions that mighte be used the gen^l denied to graunt, carrieing alwaies in dutie a doubtfull opinion howe her Ma^{ty} and yo^r LLs wolde conceive of the matchinge of his sister to so great an estate of the Irishrie, for w^h and other respects, as the incivilitie of *therls countrey not agreeing w^h his sisters educacon, and the incertantie of a Jointer to be allotted for her maintenance* after the Erles deathe, the marshall differred to consent to that mariage, unles bothe her Ma^{ty} and yo^r LLs were first made acquainted w^h the matter, and had expresslie signified yo^r good likinge thereof. And w^h like wise consideracon foreseing the attempts that might be made, if his sister shold continue w^h him self at the Newrie so nere to the Erles countrey, he removed her of purpose into the paale to avoid all inconveniences, to remaine w^h her sister the Ladie Barnewell w^hin seaven miles of Dublin. The Erle in the meane season being much discontented w^h the marshalls answers, and vehem^lie affecting the gentlewoman in love, spared not to practise all manner of devises to winn her favo^r and consent to the matche, w^h by the mediacon of some of his frendes whome he trusted best, and by his owne intercession getting opportunitie and accesse to speak w^h her himself he obtained, in suche manner, that firste they privatelie plighted their trouthes on eche side in Julii last, the gentlewoman then received from therle a token of good worthe, and aboute 20 daies after, the Erle taking occacon to goe to dinner to S^r Patrick Barnewells howse, accompanied onlie w^h a fewe English gent: where he was well entertained, soon after diner, without suspition of anie suche part, conveyed the gentlewoman w^h her owne free consent (the matter on bothe sides being form^lie agreed upon betwene them) to a frends howse of his name w^hin a mile of Dublin, where p^resentlie he married her according her Mat^r Lawes, and verie hon^rablie solemnized the mariage for fower or five daies: So sone as the Marshall had intelligence hereof he made his repaire p^rsentlie to me the deputie, being wonderfully disquieted w^h greif & passion of minde at this sodaine accident, whereof had ensued bothe great broiles and bloodshedd if by auctoritie wee had not restrained bothe parties.

“Thus have wee made bolde to acquaint y^r good LLs w^h the wise and dutifull behavio^r of the marshall in this cause, and w^h the vehem^t affeccon of Love in the Erle, w^h made him impatient to abide delaie, and carried him hedlong unto this attempt, who is nowe deputed towards his countrey w^h his young Ladie, whome he useth verie kindly, and hathe faithfully

pmised to have an honorable regard of to the contentm^t of her frendes & allies hereafter. And so w^h the remembrance of o^r humble duties we comend yo^r LLs w^h o^r praiers to the p^tec^cōn of the Almightye.

“From Kilmahineham the 21 of August 1591.

“Yo^r LLs moste humblie

“ever to cōmaund

“W. FITZWILLIAM.

“A^d Dublin Canc

“THO^s MIDENSIS.”

“13 Augst 1591. S^a H. BAGNALL to my L. TREASURER.

“My yearye good Lo. I muste craue p^don of yo^r Lo yf my p^sente discontentment shall carye me further (in the declaracōn of a late accidente hapened here to my unspeakeable greefe) then reason or tearmes of modestie doe require. My oulder father havinge left but one onely daughter to myne and other her carefull frendes disposinge, my Lo. of Tyrone became a sutor unto her, and after some conference had w^h my selfe and other her frendes in whome he p^eceived no greate good towardlines to answer his expectacōn, began in moste dishonorable sorte, contrarie to his assured promes passed unto me, by secrete allurements and drift of some dishonest p^sone who mente to make m^schandize of her undooinge, to p^ecure the good likinge of the girle, and havinge taken the aduantage of her yeares and ignorance of his barbarous estate and course of livinge, so entised the unfortunate girle, by nursinge in her through the reporte of some corrupted p^sons an opinion of his havior, and greatnes, that beinge at a sisters house of myne w^hin seaven myles of Dublin she was contented to steale awaye w^h one Will^m Warren whome the saide Earle used as a pryncipall instrumente, to the compassinge of this his detestable purpose. I can but accurse my selfe and fortune that my bloude w^h in my father and my selfe hath often beene spilled in repressinge this rebellious race, should now be mingled w^h so traiterous a stocke and kindred: and w^hall deteste some my contreyemen, contented to p^typate in this villanye, especyally the Bishopp of Meath, who beinge ready in the house of Warren six miles distante from the place she runne awaye at fower of the clocke in the afternone, maryed them contrarie to the consente of frendes and publike, pregnant, and most apa^rante by the lawe of God, not unknowen and to himselfe, impedimente to the contrarie. By this and such like examples in men of his sorte Godes worde is greatly slaundered, and manye men in this kingdome, whoe I thincke would otherwise willinglie embrace the trouthe, brought into detestation of the gossell. But in this and all other my griefes I moste humblie submitt my selfe to yo^r Lo grave censure, and upon the knees of my harte, doe most submissively implore both in this and all accidents concerninge me, yo^r honorable indifferente and accustomed consideracōn, p^testinge I had rather forsake my place, and patrimonie, w^h my Father by his owne vertue and the princes liberalitie hath acquired: and w^h both he and my selfe to oure greate toyle and payne have reduced from barbarisme, to that whiche nowe it is, & plunge my selfe into ruine, then upon this accident or anye other, slacke one iote in the zeale of her highnes service. Had not the Lo Deputie upon some especyall causes of service at this

p^resente staied me I woulde have wayted upon yo^r Lp: there to have manifested my inexplicable greefe by worde of mouth w^h nowe I am forced to doe in paper. Where in I sweare by the p^resence of Almighty God and the dutie I beare her Sacred Ma^{tie} my Sou^eaigne that I will houlde a more vigilante eye on that Earls ac^tions and p^reedings then euer heretofore I did, and that I woulde rather abandon this kingdome then by anye entreatie growe to attonement w^h him, or ioynе w^h him in ought yf it be not at some instante tymes occasion shalbe geven for the furtherance of her Mat^{ie} service. And so cravinge p^rdon of the p^resente cause if my greefe hath caryed me further then doth stand w^h yo^r honors good likinge I moste humble leave you to God.

“From the Newrie this 13th of Auguste.

“Yo^r Lo. most humble bounden

“H. BAGENALL.”

“12 Augst 1591. ERLE OF TIRONE to my Lo. (BURGHLEY) TOUCHINGE HIS MARIAGE Wth S^r H. BAGNAL’S SISTER.

“My verie good Lo. I coniecture that some reportes hath ben at court touchinge a motion past betwext me and S^r Henrie Bagnall knight for the mariage of his sister, wherein fyndinge that I was delayed, w^hall havinge obtayned the gentlewomans good will I have taken her to wife w^hout the privite of Sir Henrie, other then the first motion, proceedinge then chieflie of himselfe, where upon he is not unlike to take occasion to agravat against me, as hearetofore he hath ben apt to do, therefore I thought it good to acquaint yo^r Lp. w^h this muche, lest sinister informa^tion (through my sylence) might wynn credit, assuringe your Lp. that nothinge hath ben done in this ill beseaminge me in duty or honor. I humble besech yo^r honor therfore as youe have ben alwaies a furtherer of my just causes that your honor will vouchsaaffe as well in this as in other the like, to give credit to non that shall propone against me untill such tyme as the same be by me answered. And so beinge alwaies bound unto your honor I humble take my leave.

“From Dublin the 12 of August 1591

“Your honors humble to comaund

“HUGHE TIRONE.”

“1591. Oct^r 28th. S^r HENRY BAGNELL to my L. (BURGHLEY).

“My verie good Lo. amonge all other the fauo^{rs} w^h yo^r L^p manie waies haue vouchsafed towards me, I hould myself for noe one more beholdinge, then that it hath pleased yo^r L^p of yo^r accustomed indifferency to adresse yo^r f^res to the Lo. Deputie to be aduertised of the truth of myne informa^tion concerninge the late inconsiderate action of the Earle of Tyrone, and albeit I most humbly crave pardon yf in my former f^res I have used any unnecessarie vehemency w^h my troubled spirite that tyme, and the nature of the wronge then receyved did urge me unto, yet I protest in the presence of God I would not in substance of matter abuse yo^r L^p and subiect myself in yo^r grave censure to the ymputa^tion of vanity by informinge an untruth, whereof w^hin the compasse of soe fewe daies yoⁿ might be throughly asserteyned, for all I had in this worlde.

"Wherein I had ought to doe wth my Lo. of Tyrone was only uppon causes of her Ma^{ties} service, soe as no private dislike, as some his fauorers heare doe very iniuriously charge me, coulde drawe me to hunt out matter in this nature to his dishono^r, wherein ioyntlie doth consist the dispergement of my sister, and consequently some touche and spott in reputa^{ti}on to my whole famyly, w^h yf it were not in regarde of my dutie to God, and to free my owne conscience for beinge partaker by my sylence in soe irreligious a fact as I feare this will proue, no wordlie respect could ever cause me to discover. That he was once married to S^r Brian M^cPhelym his daughter, whose yet lyveth, is by the examina^{ti}on of so many witnesses present at the mariage substancially proued, as I suppose thearle himself will not denye it. And for any dyvorse had for desoluinge that mariage, I never knewe of anie. In respect whereof uppon some conference wth his Lp. had wth me, I wished him to free himself from the co^mon opynyon w^h possessed the world of his former mariage, before he did intreate or enter any communica^{ti}on of an other.

"But nowe I heare the Earle doth alledge a diuorse, the validitie or invalidity whereof I will not presume to discusse, sythence my Lo. Deputie hath or will shortlie imparte the particler poynts & circumstances of the cause to yo^r L^p, to whose graue considera^{ti}on in what shall concerne me therein I most humblye submytt my self, purposinge verie shortlie to attend yo^r L^p there, yf I can procure my Lo. Deputie's good leave. In the meane I have appoynted this Bearer my servant to attend yo^r L^p in this, wherew^h he is well acquaynted, and for other sutes of myne he is to dispatch, wherein I humblye crave yo^r Lps. accustomed fauor. My Lo. Deputie hath of late accomplished a service both verie honorable to her Ma^{ties} & p^rfitable to the whole estate of this kingdome in reducinge of the most barbarous countreys of this province to a cyvill & settled course of gouernment. All the landes w^h belonged to the late M^cMawhon he nowe, to the singler contentm^t of the people inhabitinge there, and comfort of her Ma^{ties} subiects of the English pale next borderinge uppon them w^h some aduantage to her Highnes, equally devided among the Gent. & freeholders. The good contynuanee whereof is much to be hoped yf the bad example of libty in some their adiacent neighbo^rs doe not impayre the course of this well begonne reforma^{ti}on. Soe cravinge p^rdon in p^rsuminge to be thus troublesom to yo^r Lo. with my humble duty I leue yo^r Lp. to God.

"At the Nury this xxviijth of October 1591

"Yo^r Lps most humble to comaund

"H. BAGENALL."

"*Ulr* Oct. 1591. THE ERLE OF TIRONE to the LLs.

"My honnourable good Lo. the discontentm^t w^h I feele and the wrongs w^h I endure at M^r M^r'shals hands, do enforce me to complaine to your Ho. LLs., not doubtinge to receave from you that indifferent measure of Justice, in my good and honest causes w^h usually you do afford to all her Mat^{ies} loyall subiects w^hout regard of anie man's pson. So it is my LLs. that, accordinge to my dutie, I attendinge upon the right Honorable the Lo. Deputie at his late beinge at Moneghan, seeinge his Lp. busied in the causes of that countie, I obtayned his Lps. license for 4 or 5 daies to goe into my cuntrie about my private affaires, nevertheles not knowing but

that his Lp. might have occasion to use my service, I lodged nightlie during myne absence from the Lo. Deputie w^hin 6 myles of Monaghan, and so it hapened that on Tuesday, the 6th of this instant, by the procurement of Mr. Marshall, there were sent by night into my cuntrie vj footemen, and about three score horsmen under the leading of one Zaumell Bagenall Liff-tenant to Mr. Marshall, beinge a yong man base borne, of small discession, and one of myne enemyes, a matter which hath and cannot but brede me great discreditt amongst my people, and so endaunger my state, whereof so sone as I receaved intelligence, w^h was brought unto me the same night, sone after midnight, I sent direc^con into the cuntrie, that no resistance should be used by any of myne, but that the soldiors should be suffered to doe ther pleasures, otherwise ther might against my will have risen a greater broile, then upon the sodaine could have bene appeased: and so sone as the daie appeared I myselfe w^h a fewe horsmen posted w^h all speed unto the Lo. Deputie and besought him that I might understand the cause of that sodaine incursion. His Lp. answered me that he had newlie receyved a ire from you the Lo. Th^rer wherein youe had signified that the M^rshall had complayned against me, for a foule abuse done to him, in takinge awaie his sister, and in maryinge of her notw^hstandinge I had a former wife livinge as the marshall had likewise informed, and therefore your Lp. had willed him to examyne the trouth of the M^rshalls allegation, and accordinge to informe your Lp. thereof, that youe might informe hir Ma^{tie} the trouth of these matters, this was all the excuse that was made to me of that sodaine goinge into my contrie by night w^h I have now learned was wholly procured by Mr. M^rshall, to worke my discredytt in my contrie. About one of the cloke in the after non, on Wednesdaie the vijth of this instant, the said army retorned to Monaghan, and brought w^h them from Armaghe, the chiefest towne in my contrie, a seellie pore old man of foure score and seventeen yeares of age, being the offitiall of Armaghe, well learned in the civill and cannon Lawes, and him they delivered to the Lo. Deputie, who comitted him at the first to the M^rshall, who threatned him verie sore (if his report to me be true), but afterwards he was kept by one of the Lo. Deputie's servants, wherew^h I was verie well pleased, the next daie after, twoe other auncient men of my contrie, namelie tharch-decon, and register of Armaghe were sent for, and I hearinge thereof caused them to appeare before my Lo. Deputie unto whom I sweare by the dutie I owe to my Prince, I would have sent those three psons by the meanest messenger that his Lp. would have sent unto me. These three, as I understand by them selves have bene examined, before my Lo. Deputie touchinge a divorce long since made by them, and given openlie between me and S^r Brian M^rPhelims daughter, from whom I was divorced by the orders of the church, manie yeares agoe, before that I married wth O'Donnill's daughter, as it is well knowne to all the cuntrie, though nowe Mr. M^rshall seeketh to call the same in question againe for malice of me, and hath therein used all maner of bad practises and devises to discreditt me w^hout a cause. I hope these men did testifie the truth of that matter, for it was before them, that the cause was heard, and determynd as I doe nowe signifie to your Lps. After these examynations it pleased the Lo. Deputie to call for my selfe, and to aske me what was become of the sentence of divorce, and whether the same were confirmed under a seale or no.

I told his Lp. that I had the same sentence in my keeping in my contrie, and that it was confirmed both wth the hands of the said Judges, and under a seale; his Lp. willed me to send for it that he might see it, w^{ch} I did accordingly, and on the xxvjth of this instant I brought the same originall sentence to his Lp., and delivered him a true copie thereof w^{ch} he promised me to send to youe the Lo. Thref, wherebie I doubt not both your self and all others wilbe throughlie satisfied in that matter, and will consider howe great a wronge the M^rshall hath don to me, to make these slaunderous reports against me to the dishonouring of my self, and to the undoing of his owne sister, though it could not be a thing hid from him w^{ch} all the contrie knewe, that I was lawfully devorsed, from the gentlewoman whom now he would thrust upon me, who also long since married an other husband by whom she hath children, from whom, unles I had ben thoroughlie cleared, I would not for anie wordlie goodes have stayned my creditt and conscience by takinge of a second wife. And where I am informed that M^r M^rshall hath written to some of your Lps. that I have greately abused him and comitted an outrageous parte in taking awaie his sister in violent maner, and in maryinge hir as I have done, I praie your Lp. not to give creditt to his reporte therin, but to consider of that w^{ch} I nowe make of the maner of my dealinge in this acc^{on} w^{ch} I do deliver unto your Lps. upon myne honor, w^h this protestation, that if any thing w^{ch} I do write at this tyme, by anie comissioner or comysioners by you appointed shalbe found an untruthe, then let me be discredyted, let me be dishonoured and accounted a traytor to hir Ma^{tie}.

“ Bearing an earnest affec^{on} to the gentlewoman that is nowmy wife I resorted to the Marshall, and first made my desire knowen to him, whereof he seemed to have good likinge, but wished first to understand your Lps. pleasures in that matter, I dealt w^h him at least six severall tymes for his consent, I offred him to putt in suertie for the assurance of a yointor to his sister, this I did before good wetnesses, I likewise procured some of the best counsellers in this kingdome to deale w^h him in this behalfe. I dealt w^h S^r Patrick Barnewell and the ladie his wife verie earnestlie for their consents, and w^h others of the best allyes she had. All this while there was no obiection once made to me of any former mariage, saving that once I confes the Marshall tolde me p^rvatlie that he had heard of such a matter, and by waie of advise (not anie waie obiectiong the matter to me) wished me to loke to it, to whom I then aunswered that that matter was longe since cleared, wherw^h he then seemed to be satisfied; p^rceavinge that I found nothinge but delaies and faire words in the Marshall, and havinge used all the means I could to get his consent, I attempted an other course, to deale w^h the gentlewoman hir self, and about xx daies before my marriage I gate good opportunitie to speak w^h hir my selfe; I lodged one night at S^r Patrick Barnewell’s house where the gentlewoman was kept, where I dealt so effectually w^h the gentlewoman, that we were trouthed together, and she received from me a chaine of gold. After this there passed between her and me some messengers w^{ch} confirmed our love on both sides, and upon a matter concluded between hir and me, upon the third of August last, I tooke in my company at least half a dussen english gentlemen that were my friends, and went to dynner to Sir Patrick Barnewell’s, where I found good intertaynem^t; after dinner some of the gentlemen in my com-

pany goinge to plaie and other exercises, the gentlewoman that is now my wife espiege hir time mounted her selfe behind one of the gentlemen in my company, and went awaie w^h him, he havinge non in his company, but one or twoe servinge men, I taried still in the house talkinge w^h the ladie for hir consent, and when I understood that my praie was well forward in hir waie towards the place where we had agreed upon, I tooke my leave of S^r Patrick Barnewell and his ladie, and followed after, and sone after I was gone the gentlemen, w^h were in company w^h me, tooke there horses and came away quietlie.

“ This is upon myne honor the truthe of my doing in this action wherein if I have offended, I submitt my selfe to hir Ma^{tie}, and your Lps. correcçôn; whatsoe^r is said or written to your Lps. of this matter, contrarie to this w^h I have now written, it is upon myne honor an untruth. The gentlewoman was caried not into my contrie there to be abused, but to an honest englishe gentleman’s house w^hin a myle of Dublin (w^h is the place that I meane alwaies to flie unto upon all occasions yf the Lo. Deputie and state be there), where I did not once touche hir, untill I had sent to Dublin, and had intreated the bishoppe of Meithe to marie us together in honest sorte, w^h he did, and thus I came by the gentlewoman, and p^sentlie after solemnized the mariage in the best maner I could, since w^h tyme I have bene verie desirous to gett the good will of his frends, w^hout the w^h I thank God and hir Ma^{tie} I am able to live; but what stirrs the Marshall hath made of this matter, in everie place seeking to dishonour me, and if it laie in him to undoe his owne sister, if your Lps. did knowe them youe would wonder that a man of his place should so farr myscharie him selfe.

“ HUGHE TIRONE.”

“ 1591. Oct 22. THE BP OF MEATHE to my Lo. (LORD BURGHLEY).

“ *The manner of his proceadinge in y^e mareage of y^e Erle of Tirone w^h S^r H. Bagnals Sister.*

“ It may please yo^r good Lo. I have receyved advertisement, that by the informaçôn of M^r Marshall, the late mariage of the Erle of Tyrone, with his youngest Sister, is broughte into question, before yo^r ho. LLs., & that emōgest others my self is charged w^h severall pointes in that action, that I was a worker & procurer of the match, & the celebrator of that mariage. And because I understand that the matter it self is diverslie censured, being verie desirous that my doinges in this, and all other actions, maie be allowed of in yo^r Lo. grave iudgment, I have p^sumed to present unto yo. Lo. a shorte reporte, both of my knowledge, & dealinges in this cause.

“ And first my good Lo. where I am charged to have bene a solicitor & compasser of this match, I protest unto yo^r Lo. in the p^sence of God, & upon my credit, I never dealte directlie, or indirectlie by anie meanes therein, I was never conferred with, myne advise was never demanded, neither was I acquainted with this purpose, either by the Erle, or anie of his dependantes. Onely this (my good Lords) I heard by roñers reportes from others w^h knewe, how things p^{re}ceeded from tyme to tyme; that as the Erle was wholly possessed with the love of the gentlewoman, so he had lefte no honest, or ordinarie good meanes untried to procure the good

lykinge, & consent of the Marshall, & other hir nearest frends. Upon what cause of dyslyke, they still reiected his most earnest suite & sollicitation, I never heard, neither as yet doe lerne. If the barr of a former mariage, w^{ch} is now so mightelie urged, had bene then in due season alledged, it wold thoroughlie have discouraged the Erle in his attempte & easelie have diverted the gentlewomans humour to some other love. But my good Lo. as then this allegacōn was mute, and not once spoken of for oughte that I did ever heare or knowe; so doe I, upon my poore creditt avouch unto yo^r Lo. and doe hearein call God to wytnes that never before, during the life of the Erles late wife w^{ch} was ODonels daughter, nor since untill of late, synce this last mariage of the Erles, I did heare or knowe, either by secrett speech, or open reporte, that he was formerlie married to anie other. And therefore hath M^r Marshall done me verie great wronge, to charge me wth the knowledge hereof, had I had but an inklinge of anie such matter I wolde not for M^r Marshall his yearelie revenewe have done that I did, w^{ch}, what it was, and in what sorte I have done it, I most humbly crave yo^r Lo. pardon to license me to make knowen unto you.

“Being at Dublin on the third of August past, attending upon the Lo. Deputy for some occasions of hir Mat^{ies} service, one of the Erles servants came unto me, and tolde methat his Lo. & M^r did most earnestly desyre me to come p^sentlie unto him, to D^rncōnran within a myle of Dublin. I, l^ytle knowinge (God is my witnes) either what was done, or to be done, graunted to goe, & deeminge the matter to be waightie by reason of the earnest message, went p^sentlie to the place, where att my com^ynge, I found his Lo. & the gentlewoman in a chamber acc^panied with ten english gent^s of good sorte. The Erle after some curteous salutations interteyned me on this manner. My Lo. I have made bolde to send for you hither att this tyme, to entreate you to take the paynes, to marie together myself & this gentlewoman, to whom, sayd the Erle, I was betrouthed about xxth daies since & now by hir owne consent I have broughte her hyther, & both hir desyre and myne is, that for both our creditts you will now marie us, and for my parte said the Erle I am desyreous, that rather you then anie other shoulde p^forme this office betweene us, that the worlde may knowe, that wee are married together according hir Mat^{ies} Lawes. I answered the Erle, that the matter w^{ch} he requyred me to do, was off great importance, & therefore I desyred him to pardon me, untill I had first conferred with the gentlewoman herself, and taking hir asyde from the companie, I privately dealte wth hir, and by way of examination demaunded of hir, whether she had before that tyme plyghted hir trouth & given hir promisse to the Erle to marie him, she aunswered me, that she had made p^misse to the Erle & had betrouthed herself to him, about three weekes before that tyme, and further she tolde me, that upon that promisse she receyved from the Erle a token worth an hundreth pounds, w^{ch} since I have lerned was a chayne of golde. Secondly I demaunded of hir whether the maner of hir com^ynge awaie from S^r Patryk Barnewells house was a thing done & agreed upon with hir owne consent. She tolde me that she had gyven hir free consent thereunto, & accordinglie was come awaie with the Erle, adding this, that unles she had agreed to that devyse and maner of her escape (as she termed it) it had bene never attempted. I demaunded of hir one question more viz whether she were now resolved to take the Erle to hir husbände and

to be maried unto him. The gentlewoman aunswered me on this maner. My Lo. you see in what case I am, how I am come hither with myne owne consent & have alredie promysed my Lo. the Erle to be his wife, I beseech yo^r Lo. therefore for my creditts sake to perfecte the mariage betweene us, the sooner the better for my creditts sake.

Whereupon seeing the younge gentlewoman in that place, where she was neyther M^{rs} of hirself, nor of her affections, and knowing that all ordinarie meanes had bene used & wroughte, to procure hir frends consentes, I resolved chieflie in regarde of the daunger wherein the gentlewomans credit and chastitie stooode, to perfecte that knott w^h themselves before had knytte, and did accordinglie att the same place, being att an honest English gentlemans house, celebrate that mariage, whether well or evill, whether iustly, or unadvisedly, I leave it to yo^r Lo. most grave & discrete censure.

“Thus have I playnlie and trulie made knowen to yo^r Lo. the matter and maner of my dealinges in this action, wherein as I doe whollye submytte my self to yo^r Los. wise consideraçon, so doo I most humbly beseech the same, not further then this, to gyve credytt to anie suggestions against me, once agayne protestinge to yo^r good Lo. that whatsoever I have written doth conteyn a trouthe. And so with remembrance of my bounden dutie and service I comend yo^r good Lo. with my prayers to Godds best blessings.

“From Dublin this xxijth of October 1591

“Yo^r good Lo. humbly att comãdement

“THO. MIDENSIS.”

Considering the hasty manner in which Sir Henry Bagnal had put forward the marriage of O'Neill with the daughter of Sir Brian M^cPhelim, without examining into the matter of the alleged divorce, as an obstacle to the marriage with his sister, it is surprising that he should not have revived a rumour which, as will be seen by the following documents, had been countenanced by Sir William Drury, when Lord Deputy, of the repudiation by O'Neill of his late wife, O'Donnell's sister, and his marriage with a daughter of Tirlogh Lynogh. Like many of the loose charges written home by official personages in those days, this rumour must have died away almost as soon as Sir William Drury had compromised his discretion by making it the subject of a despatch.

“1579. *Febr* 11. THE LO. JUSTICE to BURGHLEY.

“Before my coming downe, the Baron [O'Neill Baron of Dungannon] by what practize I knowe not had been at a parlee with him [Tirlogh Lynogh] and betweene them they knitt up such a league of freindship, as the Baron shold have putt away his wyfe that he hath, being O'Donell's daughter, and have taken Turlaghes daughter. But I have broken of that practise, and delt so w^h the Baron as upon any occasion he will be as willing as ever he was to doe service upon him.”

“1579. *Febr* 11. THE LO. JUSTICE (DRURY) to BURGHLEY.

“What letters he [Tirlogh Lynogh] sent to me, or received from me yo^r Lo. shall see either the originalls or copies of them, w^h I send by M^r Carewe, to thend yo^e may the better looke into his nature and inclinacōn, and see how little hold is to be taken of one that is so rude, and so wyld or savage as he is. Before my coming downe, the Baron of Dungannon and he had mett and parleed together and were entred into a great league of freindship, in so muche as the Baron shold have putt away his wyfe that now he hath, and have taken Turloghes daughter to wyfe, but I have so coniured the Baron, as that matche is broken.”

“1579. *Febr* 22. FYTTON to BURGHLEY.

“To trouble your L. a lytle w^h some ptyculers of theise people; The Baron of Dungannon, of whom I dyd wryte to yo^r L. afore, that he had utterly w^hdrawen himselfe from ioyninge w^h ONeales [Tirlogh’s] daughter, and for proffe, I sawe him take againe his olde wyfe (or woman) O’Donnell’s daughter, he hath nowe wrytten to my Lo. Justice that all his frendes doe advise him to go forwarde w^h O’Neales daughter, and praieth my Lo. Justices furtheraunce & advyse therin, althoughe moste men thinke the matter is done alredy.”

“1579. *March* 30. THE LO. JUSTICE to BURGHLEY.

“From Ulster I have lately receaved l^{res}, whereby I fynde that Turloghe Lenoghe since my cominge thence, hath so tempered with the Baron of Dungannon, as notw^hstanding his assured promesse unto me, that he wold not deale any further in that matche, yet he hath taken his daughter to wyfe, and sent home O’Donnell’s daughter.”

The marriage of Tyrone with “the gentlewoman to whom he bore so earnest an affection” was not interfered with. The rancour of Sir Henry Bagnal increased in bitterness with time, and, however ardent may have been the matrimonial affections of O’Neill for the Marshal’s sister, we have a declaration recorded, two years subsequently to the marriage, that, so intense had become his animosity against her brother, he was unable to control the expression of it even in her presence.

“*The declaracōn of THADIE NOLAN one of her Mat^s pursevans at Dundalke.*

“13 *Junii* 1593.

“Moreover he (the Earl of Tyrone) said openly in the audience of the Countesse his wife, Harry M^cShane O’Neile (one of the late traitor Shane O’Neiles Sonnes) O’Chaines Sonne, and diu^{se} others in the howse at Castle Rowe aforesaid, that there was no man in the worlde that he hated so muche as the Knight M^cshall; and further said (onlie to my self) yf he were disposed he wolde be w^hin a mile of the said M^cshall in spighte of his teethe, do what he coulede.”

The name of this lady occurs once again in the correspondence of the time. The following document, though containing but so brief a passage relative to her, is laid before the reader, not only because that incidental allusion points to a trait in her character which proves indeed that the words of her brother were true, that "the incivilitie of the Earle's country did not agree with his sister's education," but because it is in itself the relation of a foul crime circumstantially and sternly told, committed, it is to be feared, with the knowledge of O'Neill, and which casts a dark shadow round the character of a man who has otherwise many claims on our admiration. The characters of men of the sixteenth century are not, indeed, to be judged by the more humane code of morality of the nineteenth, but there are deeds abhorrent to the least civilized, the least enlightened of all social periods. Murder by treachery, and in cold blood, is surely one of them, and our estimation of the character of O'Neill must be partial and incomplete as long as deeds like this remain concealed. Had the victim of this cruel murder been either Fenton, Mountjoy, or Cecil—the employers of Combis and Walker—the fame of Tyrone would have been so deeply imbued with the execration of three centuries, that no effort of our days would have availed to cleanse it. And yet, could O'Neill have hanged them upon that "great oke" which served as a pleasant metaphor for Fenton, he would have quickened the civility of the cabinet of Elizabeth, and the publication of documents in their own handwriting, still extant, would have been valid warrant for all time to come for the justice of the act.

"1593. June 21. *A copie of a complaint exhibited by* EVAR M^e ROWRY ONEALE *and* CONLO M^e FERDORGH—*Versus* THEARLE of TYRONE xx^o Junii 1593. *Let the* EARLE of TYRONE *answer this bill pⁿtely.*

To the right hono^rable the LO. DEPUTY and COUNCELL.

Therle gave his woorde to me and the Councell, yea and his oathe for the well usinge and safetie of this man, otherwise notwithstanding he had his p^don, he wold not have gon to him.

Humble sheweth unto yo^r hono^r Euer M^eRory O'Neale, and Conlo M^eFerdorogh O'Neale of Kileghteraght: That where there deare Kinseman in blood *Phelym M^eTyrlogh O'Neale*, being upon her Ma^s safe & free protection and pardon, and also the worde of M^eM'shall, retourned to therle of Tyrone beinge to be well used, as other his Lps tenants were, about the xiiijth of May last did repayre to his Lp., where he encamped, nere and about the Cranock, w^{ch} Phelym held before, and therle himself lay w^{hin} the same: So yt happened that on friday night being about the xiiijth of May, he w^h yo^r Supl^s and one Donell Oge, repaired to the said Earles campe, but had no accesse to him that night till Saturday morning, having had good enter-teignm^t from the Erle all that day and Sonday, all w^h tyme Maguyre was in his company till after masse and diner a Sonday, and then Therle roade

w'h Maguyre along the strand, by the Bannes syde towe myles, where Phelym and yo^r Supl^{ts} had the viewe of them going and coming: In whose retourne Owen Oge O'Hagañ and Hugh Oge O'Hagan were in secreate talke w'h Therle, all the way, and a good while after he came to the Crannocke: w^h ended and they departed from Therle; Phelym stepped to therle and desyrus to be dispatched for his cause, w^h was but to take his Sonne Hugh to foster: Therle said he wold doe nothing that night, but the next morning though he went earlie, wold despatch him before any other, and thereupon stayed him to suppe. The next morning, viz Monday, Phelym repayed to Therle, and had secreat conference w'h him as towching his mo^{co}n, w^{ch} he had well thought to haue obtained at his hands: But so yt is that upon Therles deptime into the cott taking the Riuer of the Banne, howbeit that Phelym did salute him w'h the words of, God be w'h yo^a my Lo., Therle tournyng his backe towards him said, God be at defiance w'h you till night, and so he deptyd downe the Ryver: Therle no soner deptyd, but the said Hagans came and flattered the said Phelym, putting hands about his necke, walking into Therles campe till the Erle was out of sight; and then pntelie in the verie campe and in the viewe of Therles people the said Owen whoe clasped him about the necke drewe his sword and strocke of one of his Armes. Then thother towe, Henry and Hugh, strocke at him at the verie gate of the Crannocke, wherew^h he was mortally wounded, and after heauen in peces, and not therw^h contented, they after pursued the said Donell Oge who tooke the Riuer, whome they killed and drowned in the same, and theis towe suppl^{ts} taking the woods hardly escaped, and moreou^r they sodenly went to the creats of the said Phelym, and having taken the pray killed a yonger brother of the said Phelyms, one other gent, and towe men: Of all w^h theis yo^r suppl^{ts} are eye wittnesses: And further by hearesay doe alleadge that therle arryving at Portecleonone being but v. myles from the Crannocke, and being there ouertaken by Hugh O Galcho^r, who followed him in a boate w'h victles: Therle for his long stay blamed him & asked him the question of his said long stay: who aunswered he was seing the doing of an ill deede: what is that? said Therle. The killing of Phelym M^cTyrlogh! And he is killed? I! And is Donell Oge killed, to? I! both killed and drowned! What became of my shott that went ov^r the riv^r? saith therle. Whereunto the said Hugh said nothing, but the Countesse clapping her hands together was sorie, as shold seeme, of that w^h happened, to whome Therle in English spake w'h vehemency, w^h most of the company did not understand, and so could not come to yo^r suppl^{ts} knowledge.

"Lickewise by heresay they do enforme that w^hin a fortnight after Therle being at Castlerown where O Cahan and Nele M^cHugh were pnte the said Nele asked the question of Therle, whether after the said murder by the Hagans, he wold do them any good, whose aunswer was, yf I do them no good I will do them no harme, whereunto O Cahan said, seing yo^a had that w^hin yo^a yo^a might have kept it well enough w^hin yo^a.

"They also complayne that w^hin three dayes after the murder comitted, Therle, as not satisfied, did again send of his people not onelie to take the pray of Phelyms creats, for the yeares rente w^h he shold haue had free according yo^r hono^r order, but also made open proclama^{co}n for banishing of yo^r suppl^{ts} and there kinsemen out of the said lands, and for cutting of

there heds yf they shold come upon the same. No better profe they haue thereof but that the Hagans aforesaid are dwelling in the said Crannocke and upon their lands where upon Wednesday last in the evening yo^r sup^{lis} repaying by stealth did viewe and see them, and they haue the towne Earie of hawcks wth the said Phelyme had in purpose to bestow upon yo^r Lp. & counsell.

“ This being the true reporte and declaracōn of this cause they leaue to yo^r hono^r consideraōn that w^h concerneth the murder. But for themselves doe requyre order for there lands, goods, and creates w^h saftie of there lives.

“ This is a true copie of the originall

“ Exper

“ MATH. DILLON Ult^o die Junii 1593.”

The Countess of Tyrone did not live to witness the mortal struggle of her husband and brother. Her death took place in January, 1596, two years and a half before the “Jorney of the Black-water,” the Dyrrachium of those days, “ubi pulsus [Cæsar] non instante Pompejo, negavit eum vincere scire.”—*Suetonius*.

A LETTER FROM SIR CHARLES O'CARROLL TO LORD MOUNTJOY, LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.

BY JOHN O'DONOVAN, ESQ., LL.D.

SIR CHARLES O'CARROLL, the writer of the following letter, was the third son, considered illegitimate, of Sir William O'Carroll, chief of Ely O'Carroll, in the present King's County (see “Annals of the Four Masters,” edited by O'Donovan, p. 1690). In 1582 he succeeded his brother John, who was murdered by his kinsman, Mulrony O'Carroll, in that year. In 1585 he attended Perrott's Parliament, held in Dublin in 1585, but not as an elected member of it, as the Four Masters thought. In 1588 he was knighted by Sir John Perrott.

In 1598 he and his followers committed a foul act of treachery towards some Ulstermen who were employed in his service as hired soldiers—thus told by the Four Masters, A. D. 1599:—

“Some gentlemen of the Mac Mahons, with one hundred soldiers, were hired by O'Carroll (Calvach, son of William Ower, son of Ferganaim) in the spring of this year; and at the time that their wages should be given them, O'Carroll with his people went to them by night and slew them on their beds, and in their lodging-houses. He hanged some of them from the nearest trees, but the party of one village made their escape, in despite of O'Carroll.”